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DEMOCRATIC

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HITLER'S GENERALS STRIKE BACK

A group of Hitler's generals have dragged a West German peace supporter into court for saying they were war criminals. On May 17th, Lorenz Knorr, one of the leaders of the progressive West German Peace Union, was put in the dock in Solingen on charges of criminal libel.

The charges were lodged against him by five nazi generals occupying top posts in the West German military machine.

The legal machinery was set in motion in 1961, after Lorenz Knorr had stated in an election speech that top generals in the West German forces had waged criminal aggressive war, and were mass murderers unfit to hold public office. The generals who felt themselves to be libelled found difficulty in interesting a state attorney in their case, but finally located one. This was Rudolf Reuter, State Attorney in Wuppertal, himself sought as a war criminal by the Czechoslovak authorities as No A 38/37 on their war crimes list. State Attorney Reuter did the necessary paper work, and Lorenz Knorr was finally brought to court. He presented the court with a pile of documents from the Nuremberg Trials and from nazi archives, and the judge announced a recess until May 27th to consider how to deal with the case.

Political observers pointed out that if the court found Knorr guilty, this would be a calculated slap in the face to the judges of the Big Four Powers, who, at the Nuremberg Trial of main war criminals in 1946, had stated plainly that the leadership of the nazi General Staff and High Command "actively participated in these crimes, or sat silent and acquiescent, witnessing the commission of crimes on a scale larger and more shocking than the world has ever known."

(Extracts from the closing speech at the Nuremberg trial by US Brigadier General Telford Taylor are printed on the next page)

If, however, Knorr should be acquitted, this would mean that the court agrees that the top generals of the West German army are in fact war criminals and unfit to hold public office. The men who brought the charges against Lorenz Knorr, who was leader of a Social Democratic youth organisation until 1961, are:

1. **General Adolf Heusinger.** Chairman of the NATO Standing Military Committee in Washington. During the war he was Hitler's Chief of Operations, and on December 24th 1942 specifically ordered reprisals against women and children in the occupied Soviet Union.

2. **General Hans Speidel,** Commander of NATO Land Forces in Central Europe. He was Hitler's Chief of Staff in occupied Paris, and deported thousands of "Jews and Communists" for liquidation in eastern Europe.

3. **General Friedrich Foertsch,** Inspector General (top officer) of West German armed forces. He was divisional commander in the nazi Wehrmacht, and after the war was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment for war crimes on the eastern front. He was released after serving ten years.

4. **General Josef Kammhuber,** recently-retired head of the West German Luftwaffe. On May 10th 1940 he faked an "allied" air raid on the German town of Freiburg, providing Hitler with the excuse for all-out air warfare.

5. **Admiral Friedrich Ruge,** recently-retired head of the West German Navy. He was an admiral on the staff of Field Marshal Kesselring, convicted war criminal.

AT THE FRONT 20 YEARS AGO

Twenty years ago Walter Ulbricht, veteran German Communist, was fighting with the allied armies against the nazi Wehrmacht. Our picture shows Walter Ulbricht (left) in a Red Army trench in January 1943, during the battle of Stalingrad. On the right Erich Weinert, German Communist writer, appeals to Wehrmacht troops to surrender. Today Walter Ulbricht, nearing 70, is Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic.

For notes of Walter Ulbricht's career, turn to page 83

US GENERAL TAYLOR FORECAST MILITARIST COMEBACK

In January 1946, US General Telford Taylor presented the case for the prosecution at the Nuremberg Trial of Major War Criminals against the military leadership of nazi Germany. He stated:

For nine months this court room has been a world of gas chambers, mountains of corpses, human-skin lampshades, shrunken skulls, freezing experiments and bank vaults filled with gold teeth. It is vital to the conscience of the world that all the participants in these enormities shall be brought to justice. But these exhibits, gruesome as they are, do not lie at the heart of this case. Little will be accomplished by shaking the poisoned fruit from the tree. It is much harder to dig the tree up by the roots, but only this will, in the long run, do much good.

The tree which bore this fruit is German militarism. Militarism was as much the core of the Nazi Party as of the Wehrmacht itself. Militarism is not the profession of arms. Militarism is embodied in the "military-minded nation" whose leaders preach and practice conquest by force of arms, and relish war as something desirable in itself ... Militarism destroys the moral character of the nation that practices it and, because it can be overthrown only by its own weapons, undermines the character of nations that are forced to combat it.

The well-spring of German militarism through the years has been the group of professional military leaders who have become known to the world as the "German General Staff". That is why the exposure and discrediting of this group through the declaration of criminality is far more important than the fate of the uniformed individuals in the box, or of other members of this group as individuals. Keitel and Raeder and Rundstedt and Kesselring and Manstein have shot their bolt. They will not lead the legions of the Wehrmacht again.

What is really at stake now is not the lives of these particular men, but the future influence of the German General Staff within Germany, and, consequently, on the lives of people in all countries. That is why it was declared at Yalta:

"It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German Armed Forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism."

The first steps toward the revival of German militarism have been taken right here in this court room. The German General Staff has had plenty of time to think since the spring of 1945, and it well knows what is at stake here. The German militarists know that their future strength depends on re-establishing the faith of the German people in their military prowess and in disassociating themselves from the atrocities which they committed in the service of the Third Reich. Why did the Wehrmacht meet with defeat? Hitler interfered too much in military affairs, says Manstein. What about the atrocities? The Wehrmacht committed none. Hitler's criminal orders were discarded and disregarded by the generals. Any atrocities which did occur were committed by other men, such as Himmler, and other agencies, such as the SS. Could not the generals have taken any steps to prevent Germany's engulfment in war and eventual destruction? No; the generals were bound by their oath of obedience to the Chief of State ... The documents and testimony show that these are transparent fabrications. But here, in embryo, are the myths and legends which the German militarists will seek to propagate in the German mind. These lies must be stamped and labelled for what they are now while the proof is fresh.

This is as important within our own countries as it is here in Germany. Militarism has flourished far more widely and obstinately in Germany than elsewhere, but it is a plant which knows no national boundaries; it grows everywhere. It lifts its voice to say that war between East and West, or Left and Right, or White and Yellow is inevitable. It whispers that newly devised weapons are so terrible that they should be hurled now lest some other country use them first. It makes the whole world walk under the shadow of death.

German militarism, if it comes again, will not necessarily re-appear under the aegis of Nazism. The German militarists will tie themselves to any man or party that offers expectations of a revival of German armed might. They will calculate deliberately and coldly. They will not be deterred by fanatical ideologies or hideous practices; they will take crime in their stride to reach the goal of German power and terror. We have seen them do it before.

The truth is spread on the record before us, and all we have to do is state the truth plainly. The German militarists joined forces with Hitler and with him created the Third Reich; with him they deliberately made a world in which might was all that mattered; with him they plunged the world into war and spread terror and devastation over the Continent of Europe. They dealt a blow at all mankind; a blow so savage and foul that the conscience of the world will reel for years to come. This was not war; it was crime. This was not soldiering; it was savagery. These things need to be said. We cannot here make history over again, but we can see that it is written true.

Top Cop Jailed

A West German court has sentenced a leading police officer to 15 years hard labour for his part in slaughtering the Jews of Minsk during the nazi regime. The policeman, Georg Heuser, was for many years head of detective police in the West German province of Rhineland-Palatinate. His wartime record as head of the SS liquidation department in occupied Minsk was known to the authorities, but no action was taken against him until world-wide protests in 1959 caused the West German Government to arrest him.

After a six-month trial, Heuser and ten of his collaborators were sentenced to varying terms of hard labour at Koblenz on May 21st. The other convicted murderers included a police officer, a customs officer and a teacher, all of whom had been working at their trades until they were belatedly arrested during the past few years.

Summing up at the end of the trial, Judge Randebrock, one of the rare West German judges not himself implicated in nazi crimes, made special mention of the valuable documentary evidence received from the Soviet Union, which was "undoubtedly genuine", and which had helped to prove without a doubt the crimes of the accused.

Carpenter & Communist

Biographical Notes on Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic

On June 30th this year, Walter Ulbricht, carpenter from Leipzig, will celebrate his 70th birthday. He is today Chairman of the State Council of the GDR and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party; he has played a prominent role in the working class movement in Germany for more than forty years. Walter Ulbricht is today "chief bogeyman" in the West German propaganda campaign against the socialist countries in general, and the German Democratic Republic in particular.

What is the history of this man who today heads the first socialist German state?

Walter Ulbricht was born in Leipzig in 1893. His father, a tailor, was an active trade unionist and Social Democrat. Ulbricht left school at the age of 14, and was apprenticed to a carpenter, but continued his education at evening classes organised by the local Social Democratic organisation. At 17 he joined the wood-workers' union, and two years later the Social Democratic Party.

When the First World War broke out in 1914, Ulbricht, then 21, was already a local official of the Party. He immediately linked up with the group of Social Democrats led by Karl Liebknecht which opposed the Kaiser's war, and in October of the same year made one of his first recorded public speeches, calling for opposition to the war. In 1915 he was called up and sent to the eastern front. In spring 1918 he deserted from the Kaiser's army, was captured, and sent to a punishment battalion. In November of the same year, on the outbreak of the German revolution, he helped to establish a soldiers' council in his unit.

Soon afterwards, he made his way back to Leipzig, and when the Communist Party of Germany was founded at the beginning of 1919, he was one of the founder members.

From that date, 45 years ago, until today, he has played an increasingly important part in the Communist movement in Germany, first as a local official of the party, but very soon in more important capacities. By 1921, the obscure Leipzig carpenter had become secretary of the Thuringian district committee of the Party, and in 1922 he was elected as a delegate to the 4th World Congress of the Communist International, where he met Lenin.

On November 22nd 1922, an article from his pen was published in the "Neue Zeitung", Thuringian daily of the Communist Party (KPD). In this article, Walter Ulbricht stated:

"The world situation is marked by the continuing crisis of capitalism. For the time being there is a strengthening of the bourgeoisie, but the fact that capitalism is doomed remains a fact. The activity of the Communist Parties in this period is particularly difficult. The capitalist offensive is being carried out with full force . . . but in broad circles of the working class there is a certain passive feeling of despair, largely as a result of the treachery of the Social Democrats. Just in such a situation the Communist Parties have the task of overcoming this feeling by means of the most intensive activity of Communist cells in all working class organisations, thus activating the proletarian masses on the basis of the daily struggle."

At about this period, Walter Ulbricht began to be called by the nickname "Genosse Zelle" (Comrade Cell), because of his insistence that the old organisational methods inherited from the Social Democrats were outmoded, and that Communists must be organised on the basis of factory cells and not of neighbourhood groups.

In January 1923, the successful party organiser from Thuringia was elected a member of the Central Committee of the KPD, and was appointed as one of the two Secretaries of the Politbureau, the inner executive. In July 1923, at the height of the German inflation, when Hitler and other fascist groups were organising to seize power, Walter Ulbricht was appointed a member of the secret "Military Committee" of the KPD, which had the task of preparing an armed rising when the opportunity arose.

In October 1923 an abortive Communist rising did take place in Hamburg, but the rising was crushed. Following the fighting, warrants were issued for the arrest of members of the "Military Committee", including Ulbricht, and until the warrant was cancelled in 1928 he had to live in semi-illegal conditions. During much of this period he was an elected member of the Provincial Parliament of Saxony, and was immune from arrest during session time; but when the parliament recessed he had to "go underground".

Walter Ulbricht gained experience in the international field at this time, working for some months as Comintern emissary in Austria and Czechoslovakia and attending important meetings of the Comintern executive (ECCI) in Moscow. In 1928 he was elected for the first time to the Reichstag as a Communist deputy.

Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, awards the GDR "Star of International Friendship" to American singer Paul Robeson in Berlin in October 1960.

In 1929 he was elected head of the Berlin organisation of the KPD, and in the following four years he was in the centre of the struggle between the left and the right for the leadership of the workers of the German capital. As Communist leader in Berlin, his personal opponent was Josef Goebbels, nazi Gauleiter of the nazi organisation in the city, and he met and defeated Goebbels in public debate at a huge mass meeting early in 1931.

In the same year, Walter Ulbricht came into conflict with the law once again. On September 26th 1931 he appeared before the Supreme Court of the Weimar Republic in Leipzig, charged with "preparing high treason". The charges were based upon a number of his articles and speeches. In his defence speech Ulbricht stated:

"We are charged with opposing the existing state, the existing constitution. But who has suspended this constitution? It was Chancellor Brüning himself. One of the points charged against me is that I wrote in an article: 'The achievements of this Republic consist of bullets instead of bread, of police batons instead of unemployment pay.' But this is simply a statement of facts."

The trial ended with Walter Ulbricht being sentenced to two years imprisonment; the sentence was suspended for the period of his parliamentary immunity.

In the months immediately before Hitler's seizure of power, one of Walter Ulbricht's main aims, reflected in his speeches and articles, was to bring about a United Front between Communists and Social Democrats in Berlin and throughout Germany, but the gap between the two parties was too great, and even the threat of imminent fascism could not bring them together.

On February 27th 1933, the nazis seized the Reichstag Fire as an excuse to ban the KPD, and all well-known Communists, including Walter Ulbricht, had to go underground to avoid arrest. Despite the nazi terror, the KPD received five million votes in the general elections on March 5th, and Ulbricht was re-elected to the Reichstag, but like all other Communist deputies he was unable to take his seat.

For several months he organised the Communist underground from Berlin; on August 5th 1933 the nazi press published his photograph and description as an "urgently wanted Communist leader". At the beginning of October, on Party orders, he left Germany to help organise resistance from abroad.

During the next few years Walter Ulbricht worked on the frontiers of Germany, in France, Czechoslovakia and other countries, organising the illegal KPD, and keeping open links between the underground in nazi Germany and the outside world despite the increasing ferocity of the Gestapo terror.

When Hitler invaded the Soviet Union on June 22nd 1941, Walter Ulbricht was in Moscow. As soon as the first German prisoners of war were brought in in August 1941, he began visiting the prison camps, screening out Communists, Social Democrats and other anti-nazis who had been conscripted into Hitler's Wehrmacht, and organising study groups of other prisoners who were not completely blinded by nazi propaganda.

Coupled with this anti-fascist work in the POW camps, Walter Ulbricht conducted dangerous front-line work against the nazi Wehrmacht. The picture on the front page of this issue shows him in the Red Army trenches before Stalingrad, appealing to the soldiers of the besieged German 6th Army to surrender.

In 1943 the difficult, dangerous and often frustrating work in the POW camps and at the front began to bear fruit. A group of Germans in the Soviet Union, including both political emigrants and POWs, issued an appeal for the formation of a Free German National Committee to fight against Hitler, and Ulbricht became a leading member of the Committee. In the last two years of the war members of the Committee did valuable work in undermining the morale of the nazi Wehrmacht.

A few days before the end of the war, when fighting was still in progress round Berlin, Walter Ulbricht arrived from Moscow at the head of a small group of German Communists. Their job was to try to rebuild a new and decent Germany on the ruins left by Hitler.

They immediately got in touch with anti-nazi Germans of all shades who had survived the Hitler terror, and set about the task of rebuilding the country. With the full support of the Soviet military administration, the members of the "Ulbricht Group", as it was called, buckled down to the task of clearing the streets, getting the water and electricity going again, and seeing that at least minimum rations reached the people of Berlin. They worked so hard and so fast that by May 17th 1945, only nine days after the nazi capitulation, the Provisional City Council of Berlin, completely purged of all nazi elements, could start its work.

On June 11th 1945, the reconstituted Communist Party issued its first manifesto, drafted by Walter Ulbricht. The major part of the manifesto consisted of a ten-point plan which called for:

1. **Complete liquidation of the remnants of the Hitler regime.**
2. **The fight against hunger, unemployment and lack of housing.**
3. **Restoration of democratic rights and liberties.**
4. **Restoration of a democratic administration at all levels.**
5. **Protection for workers against exploitation.**
6. **Confiscation of the property of all leading nazis and war criminals.**
7. **Liquidation of the big estates, and land reform.**
8. **Take-over of essential industry by the local authorities.**
9. **Peaceful cooperation with all peoples.**
10. **Recognition of the duty to make reparation for the damage done to other nations by Hitlerite aggression.**

Full support was given to this programme by the other democratic parties which were established in the following days, and which came together to form the anti-fascist democratic coalition, which in a rather changed form rules the German Democratic Republic today.

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It is impossible to give a full account in a short space of all the jobs done by Walter Ulbricht in the months immediately following the war: he had an important part to play in such disparate fields as the organisation of the municipal administration in Berlin; the rebuilding of the shattered KPD; the first steps towards land reform in the countryside; and the reorganisation of the trade unions. He attached particular importance to this last facet of his work, and drafted the appeal for the formation of one united trade union organisation in August. One paragraph of this appeal is of particular interest:

"The workers of Germany must recognise that they have been liberated from nazi tyranny by the war effort of the allied powers, of the Soviet Union, Britain and America. This imposes upon the German working class the obligation to show by deeds that it has learned the lessons of the past, and that it wishes to establish unshakeable working-class unity for the good of Germany, and for the maintenance of peace."

Ever since Walter Ulbricht returned to the shattered and smoking ruins of Berlin at the end of April 1945, he has played a key role in the development of the country. On the formation of the German Democratic Republic in October 1949 he became First Deputy Prime Minister; in 1950 he was elected First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party, which had been formed by the merging of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in the eastern part of Germany.

In September 1960, on the death of Wilhelm Pieck, first President of the GDR, the office of President was abolished and replaced by the State Council, of which Walter Ulbricht is Chairman.

Speaking after his election as Chairman of the State Council in 1960, Walter Ulbricht declared:

"The people of the GDR, the first workers' and peasants' state in Germany, can be proud of drawing the lessons from history; of uprooting German militarism; of abolishing exploitation; and of overcoming the scourge of racial hatred. Today the GDR is a stable state which represents in the world the peaceable interests of the entire German people. Today our most important task is to do everything which can bring about total disarmament in Germany, so that in West Germany too the forces of peace can win the upper hand, thus leading to the rebirth of Germany as a peace-loving democratic state."

GLOBKE CASE - WITNESSES WANTED

The Procurator General of the GDR has issued a warrant for the arrest of Hans Globke, State Secretary in the West German Government, and personal assistant to Chancellor Adenauer. Globke is charged with "aiding and abetting murder in the years 1932 to 1945 in connection with nazi racialist policies". A copy of the warrant has been sent to Bonn, where Globke now lives, but it is believed unlikely that the West German authorities will take any action in this matter.

The Procurator General of the GDR told journalists in East Berlin on May 21st that the preliminary investigations against Globke were going ahead well. Great quantities of documentary evidence on his role in the nazi murder of millions of European Jews were available, in the surviving files of the nazi Ministry of the Interior, in which Globke was a senior official.

The legal authorities of the GDR have officially requested the help of the authorities in 15 countries, including Britain, America, and Israel, in assembling further evidence.

Individual witnesses are also urgently sought. In the course of his duties as official in charge of "citizenship questions" for instance, Globke was directly responsible for large numbers of individual decisions on "borderline cases", deciding whether persons with a certain proportion of "Jewish blood" were to be classed as Jews or non-Jews. A few of the applicants classed as Jews by Globke, and thus in effect sentenced to death, are believed to have survived, and their evidence would be most valuable in the case now being prepared against Globke.

It is understood that the main point of the indictment against Globke would be his authorship of the Nuremberg laws, main nazi racialist laws, and of decrees based upon these laws. One of Globke's decrees, the "Erste Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz" (First Decree on the Reich Citizenship Law) was specifically quoted by Eichmann on January 31st 1942 as the legal basis for the deportation of all surviving Jews from Germany. In addition, Globke drafted or promulgated dozens of other laws and regulations which led directly to the mass murder of Jews, Gypsies, and other peoples.

Speaking in the West German Parliament on July 12th 1950, Social Democratic MP Adolf Arndt stated: "It may be true that Globke was never a nazi; it may be true that he only carried out the tasks allotted to him by the nazis with inner reservations. But his name will always be coupled with the Nuremberg Laws. These laws led to outlawing, and to legally disguised murder, and Dr Globke knew this."

New Bonn Press-Gag Move

The West German authorities went into action in a new round of their campaign to gag non-conformist journalists on May 14th when police swooped on the homes and offices of 48 journalists in various parts of the country.

Most of the journalists were arrested, and their office files, press accreditation cards and other documents were seized. The police announced that the journalists had been implicated in "spying for the GDR", but gave no further details, and all but one of the men arrested had to be released within 24 hours for lack of evidence.

The journalists were all properly accredited correspondents for newspapers, news agencies and radio stations in the GDR; many of them also worked for progressive newspapers in other countries.

Simultaneously, official and semi-official West German bodies made a massive attempt to whip into line the West German TV service, which has often been cautiously liberal in its criticism of West German Government policies.

Intervention by the Christian Democratic Party forced West German TV to sack Gerd von Paczensky, editor of the regular political programme "Panorama". Commenting on the case, the London "Observer" stated on May 19th: "Paczensky shows a contempt for colonialism, a detestation of cruelty, and a sense of the fragility of personal freedom which brings him close to the generation of young post-war Germans. The first consequence of this uproar threatens to be the emasculation of West Germany's best television programme. Nor may Paczensky be the last victim. Another television reporter, Jürgen Neven-Dumont, is being strongly criticised for having violated one of the pious clichés of political life; he ran a programme on the Polish city of Wroclaw, once Breslau, which showed that under Polish rule it was neither a pile of rubble nur a Red prison settlement, but a normal, rather ugly, laborious town."

Book Review

BUREAUCRATS OF DEATH

"The Destruction of the European Jews", by Raul Hilberg. W. H. Allen & Co., London, 84 shillings; Quadrangle Books, Chicago, $6.50.

In this day and age, everybody should know the details of the way in which the German Government from 1933 to 1945 systematically went about the destruction of the Jews of Europe; but shockingly few people do.

The book under review tells the whole ghastly tale on nearly 800 pages. Quite a lot of the ground has been covered before in such books as Gerald Reitlinger's "The Final Solution" (London 1953), and Leon Poliakov's "Harvest of Hate" (London 1956), but Mr Hilberg's book is not simply a re-telling of the story on a rather more extended scale. Both Reitlinger and Poliakov, in their excellent volumes, deal almost exclusively with the machinery of nazi liquidation after the decision to kill the Jews had finally been arrived at; Hilberg begins much earlier. He shows, on hundreds of closely documented but always clearly readable pages, how the gas chambers and execution squads were the almost inevitable result of the entire nazi racialist policy from 1933 onwards.

Hilberg usefully divides the whole nazi operations against the Jews of Europe into four stages, though these stages naturally overlapped:

1. Definition.
2. Expropriation.
3. Concentration.
4. Annihilation.

He explains these steps in one paragraph: "The steps of the destruction process were introduced in the following order: at first the concept of 'Jew' was defined; then the expropriatory operations were inaugurated; third, the Jews were concentrated in ghettos; finally, the decision was made to annihilate European Jewry. Mobile killing units were sent to Russia, while in the rest of Europe the victims were sent to killing centres."

And Hilberg continues: "The definition of the Jews appears to be a relatively harmless measure, in comparison with the bloody riots of 1938; yet its significance is much greater, for the definition of the victim was an essential requisite for further action. The measure itself did not harm anyone. But it had administrative continuity. That is the chief difference between a pogrom and a destruction process. A pogrom ... does not call for further action. On the other hand, a measure in a destruction process never stands alone. It may not always do damage, but it always has consequences. Each step of a destruction process contains the seed of the next step."

And towards the end of his book Hilberg writes: "The destruction of the Jews was thus no accident. When in the early days of 1933 the first civil servant wrote the first definition of a 'non-Aryan' into a civil service ordinance, the fate of European Jewry was sealed."

In view of this clear sighted analysis, it is a little surprising that Mr Hilberg does not pay more attention to Hans Globke, who was one of these civil servants who wrote the first definitions of "non-Aryans", and who is today Chancellor Adenauer's personal assistant. The explanation would appear to be that most of the research for this volume was completed by 1960, before all the evidence about Globke's crimes had become readily available; it must be hoped that some of the newly-available evidence of Globke's role will be included in future editions.

In view of the excuses produced today at all levels by people, many of them in high places in West Germany, it may be worth quoting some of the rationalisations summarised by Mr Hilberg:

"It must be kept in mind that most of the participants did not fire rifles at Jewish children or pour gas into gas chambers ... Most of the administrators did not see the final, drastic link in these measures of destruction. Most bureaucrats composed memoranda, drew up blueprints, signed correspondence, talked on the telephone, and participated in conferences. They could destroy a whole people while sitting at their desks.

"However, these men were not stupid; they realised the connection between their paper work and the piles of corpses in the East ... That was why they were compelled to justify their individual activities.

"The first rationalisation was the oldest, the simplest, and therefore the most effective: the doctrine of superior orders ... Every bureaucrat knows that open defiance of orders is serious business, but he also knows that there are many ingenious ways of evading orders. Even in Nazi Germany, orders were disobeyed. Reichsbankdirektor Wilhelm would not participate in the distribution of 'second-hand goods'. Nothing happened to him. A member of the Reich Security Main Office simply refused to take over an Einsatzkommando in Russia. Nothing happened to this man either ...

"The second rationalisation was the administrator's insistence that he did not act out of personal vindictiveness. The German bureaucrat ... insisted he did not 'hate' Jews, and sometimes he went out of his way to perform 'good deeds' for Jewish friends and acquaintances. When the trials of war criminals started, there was hardly a defendant who could not produce evidence that he had helped some half-Jewish professor ... Only after a man had done 'everything humanly possible' could he devote himself to his destructive activity in peace.

"The third justification was that one's own activity was not criminal, that the next fellow's action was the criminal act. The Ministerialrat who was signing papers could console himself with the thought that he did not do the shooting.

"There was a fourth rationalisation ... of more sophisticated people and it was built on a simple premise. No man alone can build a bridge. No man alone can destroy the Jews. Among his superiors he could always find those who were doing more than he... No matter where he looked, he was always one among thousands. The bureaucrat quieted his conscience with the thought that he was part of a tide and that there was very little a drop of water could do in such a wave."

Mr Hilberg's book, which is almost entirely based upon German documents, does not, of course, deal only with the preparations, psychological and physical, for the destruction of Jewry. It recounts, in great detail and with great care, the actual destruction process. It is an ugly story, but a story that everyone should know.

It is unpleasant to have to cavil at some part of a book as valuable as Mr Hilberg's volume, but readers must be warned to accept with great reservations Mr Hilberg's account of Jewish resistance to the nazi wave of destruction, and the conclusions which he draws from this resistance. The question has been dealt with

thoroughly in the Jewish press in various countries, particularly in that lively and well-written monthly "Jewish Currents" of New York, to which any reader interested in a fuller analysis should refer.

The basic difficulty would appear to be that Mr Hilberg has based his book almost entirely on German documents, and these naturally made only marginal reference to Jewish resistance. The only other sources referred to by the author are outdated and generally superficial works on the subject which appeared in English soon after the war. Since then, a huge literature on the subject has become available, largely in Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, and other languages. As a result of his inadequate sources, Mr Hilberg has given a totally inadequate picture of Jewish resistance to the nazis, and drawn some very questionable conclusions as a result. It is a great pity, but this does not detract from the great value of the book as a basic volume telling us how this monstrous crime was committed, and naming many of those responsible. Mr Hilberg lists about 270 Germans mainly concerned in the nazi "final solution of the Jewish problem", and I have made a rough survey of the listing, bringing up to date some of the details he gives of their post-war history. 45 of these top criminals were executed; 51 have died of natural causes or by suicide; just 19 are still serving sentences, or are now awaiting trial; 17 have never been located. The remaining 130 or so, many of whom were imprisoned or interned for a year or two after the war, all appear to be living at freedom in West Germany; most of them are drawing pensions in accordance with their rank in the nazi machine, and at least 20 are immediately identifiable as holding high posts in West German government, the army, or industry.

Nazi MP Back

Theodor Oberländer, former nazi leader who was forced from his job as Minister in the West German Cabinet in 1960 by international public pressure, moved back into the West German Parliament in May.

Oberlaender headed a nazi military unit involved in pogroms in the Ukrainian city of Lvov. In 1960 the Supreme Court of the GDR sentenced him to life imprisonment in his absence. A few days later, Adenauer sacked him. Since then he has headed a Christian Democratic group concerned with revanchist propaganda directed against eastern Europe.

Moscow Protests Bonn-Paris Pact

The West German Parliament on May 16th ratified, almost unanimously, the Bonn—Paris pact concluded by Chancellor Adenauer and President De Gaulle on January 22nd this year. Under the new pact, which practically swept away restrictions on West German arms imposed when West Germany became a member of NATO in 1954, the two countries will coordinate military strategy and tactics and undertake joint weapons research. One of the main aims of the pact was believed to be joint research by West Germany and France on nuclear weapons.

In a strongly worded note to the West German Government on May 17th, the Soviet Union protested against the pact, stating:

"This pact is nothing more nor less than a military alliance. During the past fifteen years the Federal Republic has moved forward in the direction of remilitarisation, utilising both differences between the USSR and the USA, and differences inside the NATO. The Federal Republic has infringed international agreements, and its own promises and obligations."

The Soviet Note pointed out that while West Germany was making efforts to attain nuclear weapons, the German Democratic Republic had declared its readiness to renounce such weapons if West Germany would do the same. "If the West German Government would only utilise just a part of the energy which it devotes to rearmament and military pacts to establishing normal relations with the GDR, this would be a great contribution to European security," the Soviet Note said.

LENIN ORDER FOR FILM

The Order of Lenin, highest Soviet decoration, was awarded on May 17th to Annelie and Andrew Thorndike, noted GDR documentary film makers. The Thorndikes, who are husband and wife, received the award for their work on a new four-hour two-part documentary film "The Russian Miracle", which contrasts the difficult beginnings of the Soviet Union with its present situation as a top-ranking industrial country.

In their film, the Thorndikes have assembled from all parts of the world astonishing documentary footage, much of it never seen before, on life in Tsarist Russia, and the attempts made to overthrow the young Soviet Republic in the earliest years of its life by foreign intervention. For the second part of the monumental film, dealing with the Soviet Union today, teams of GDR cameramen travelled all over the Soviet Union.

(continued, oddly enough, from back page)

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

'Spiegel' affair, about the cunning of the old Chancellor, about Doenitz and his school lecture in defence of the old nazis ... and I would ask questions about the past of General Speidel and about the latest nazi scandal in the Bonn government.

"On the other side (in the GDR, ed.) there have naturally also been such scandals; but they have been dealt with ruthlessly; the wound is not allowed to fester there. In West Germany one is reluctant to ask anyone over 50 about his past. In the East I did not notice any such reluctance on my part. Of four people that I got to know there, two were old Communists who had spent the war in a refugee camp in Shanghai; one had served in the British Army and landed with a Scottish regiment in Normandy; and the fourth, after fighting with the International Brigade in Spain, saw the end of the war from South America.

"Perhaps someone converted a long time ago to Catholicism has something in common with someone converted a long time ago to Communism, which makes it easy for both to understand each other. Both have passed through the period of enthusiasm, and both now learn to know the various regions of acceptance and doubt ...

"On this side of the Wall, we believe that we have a monopoly of laughter and self-irony. Brigitte Bardot plays in the East."

Once again I would like to apologise to Graham Greene if his well-rounded sentences have come out a little lame after the double translation. I certainly do not agree with everything which Graham Greene writes, but I think it is of great interest to hear what a distinguished British Catholic writer has to say.

Just incidentally, if you are puzzled by his last sentence, he is obviously referring to the fact that the Brigitte Bardot film "Babette Goes to War" is at present playing to full houses in GDR cinemas.

REC'D AUG 13 1963

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

A very interesting example of the reactionary intolerance of wide circles in West Germany has recently come to light, following a visit paid to Germany by noted British writer Graham Greene, author of such best-sellers as "The Quiet American" and "Our Man in Havana".

Mr Greene was invited to visit Germany as the guest of "Die Zeit", a respectable liberal weekly very roughly equivalent in its political standpoint to the London "Observer". Since he wanted to get an all-round view of Germany, Mr Greene visited both German states, spending three days in the German Democratic Republic; and this readiness to see both sides of the question for himself has driven many West Germans into hysterical outbursts.

In its issue of May 17th, "Die Zeit" quoted a letter which had been sent by one of the biggest West German bookshops to Grahame Greene's West German publishers. This letter stated: "We have learned with some disgust of the visit paid to the Soviet Zone of Berlin by your star author Green (sic)... As a result we have withdrawn from our shelves all the books of this remarkable hybrid, and will in future refuse to sell the books of this person. We ask you to inform Mr Green of our deep contempt for his conduct."

Wild Blindness

The newspaper comments that this letter "in its wild blindness, its agitated ignorance and stupid superiority, can scarcely be distinguished from the anti-Semitism of those years which we would so much like to forget".

In the same issue of "Die Zeit", Grahame Greene himself contributes an article, in the form of an open letter to a friend in West Germany, with some interesting reflections on Germany today, and particularly on his flying visit to the GDR. Unfortunately, we do not have the original English text of his open letter, but some of the points which he makes are so interesting that it may be worth quoting them, even at the risk that they may have become slightly distorted, and certainly less stylish, as the result of the double translation from English into German into English again.

Graham Greene begins his letter with some philosophical paragraphs about frontiers in general, and moral and philosophical frontiers in particular, and then continues:

By John Peet

"In the evening, in the roof-garden of the Hilton Hotel (in West Berlin), you pointed out the great crescent of lights in the west, and the deep darkness on the other side, only broken here and there by short chains of yellow pearls. 'You can easily see', you said, 'where the East begins.' But it is in the nature of frontiers — the evil feature, perhaps — that everything looks different when you have crossed them.

"When, four days later, I returned to East Berlin from Dresden and Potsdam, I did not find the city particularly dark — certainly not darker than the industrial quarter of any large city at ten in the evening...

Problems

"The Berlin Wall, and the crossing points, where foreigners and West Germans can enter East Berlin for one day, are a sign of the problematical nature of Communism. For those who could be converted to Communism, they are a greater obstacle than any dogma or historical fact. The economic dogmas of proletarian democracy present no difficulty to me; and what happened in Budapest happened, after all, less than fifty years ago in Dublin too.

"I regard official atheism — mistakenly perhaps — as a passing stage (in any case, I prefer atheism to an agnosticism disguised as official Christianity) and a comparison between the living standards appears to me to be an unreliable and unpleasant argument. What sort of a living standard do they have in rich Venezuela? Have we got a bigger car than our neighbour?...

"When you look at the photographs of some one-day tourists, you might assume that it is always raining in East Berlin, and that the rain always falls on ruins, avoiding the new blocks of flats and stores."

Grahame Greene then recalls that his West German friend had asked him to report to him fully on what he had seen in the GDR, and continues:

"To give a proper report, one needs longer than the two and a half days which I spent in the East, and one must have some idea of the local language. In a case like mine, the reporter can only tell about himself, and his own passing impressions. Naturally I could tell you about the fine Leda by Rubens which I saw in Dresden... I could describe the ruins left behind by the great air attack on Dresden... I could note the great changes in the last three years in East Berlin, the new flats on both sides of the Karl Marx Allee, where, if I remember rightly, destruction still dominated; a shop with modern furniture and ceramics, which could show itself in London; in the poorer, older streets which stayed standing in the war, not a bad assortment of consumer goods...; the expensive clothing shops have style, and I saw that they were full of customers, who could obviously afford them.

"The food is less finely cooked, and the menus are shorter than in West Berlin, but things are not dear. I am not judging from the big restaurants, but from the little inn on the way to Dresden where I ate lunch, and the 'People's Restaurant' in Potsdam where I dined. My hotel in Dresden was a luxury hotel, with show cases displaying champagne, perfume, and well-cut women's clothes. But I have the feeling that such details are not what you want to hear from me.

"I have spoken of the Wall as a protection. Naturally it was described to me as such by the young officer at the Brandenburger Tor, in a lecture which was too long, too well prepared, and too naively propagandist... But there were personal tragedies in split families before the building of the wall, just as afterwards, in families which had been split as the result of the lure of the West.

Heroic?

"Here (in the west), there is too much of a tendency to ascribe heroic motives to all who flee over, or through, the wall. But how many of these people 'chose freedom' for quite personal reasons, by love of a girl, or of a particular way of life, and how many are simply lured by a living standard which includes transistors, blue jeans and leather jackets? As long as there is a difference in living standards, there will be reasons for flight which are not exactly noble.

"You may believe that I have been influenced by friends whom I found on the other side of the Wall; and this is true — when I returned through Checkpoint Charlie to the West, I had the feeling of leaving behind me something simple and clear, and of returning again to the complex world of Bonn. In a few minutes I would be speaking with my friends in the West about the

(continued, unconventionally, on previous page)

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